# The Current Security Challenges in Africa

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# The Current Security Challenges in Africa

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Thank you Professor Don Wallace Jr., Chairman, International Law Institute for your kind opening remarks. I also would like to thank, Professor Yonah Alexander, and the Inter-University Center for Terrorism Studies (IUCTS) for the invitation, and I am honored to address you today.

Indeed, it is a great pleasure to share the dais with Ambassador Khalid Maowia of the Republic of the Sudan, Ambassador Jean Kamau, Interim Chief of Mission, Embassy of the Republic of Kenya, and Prof. Christos Kyrou, Research Director, Center for International Relations.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We convene today to exchange views and insights on the crucial theme of "The Current Security Challenges in Africa: The French Interventions in Mali and CAR, and the Multilateral Holistic Approaches for peace and security in Africa".

Of course, our Ambassadors' Forum comes at an opportune time in view of recent global developments in Nigeria, CAR, South Sudan, Somalia, and Mali. We do need to review the international agenda for peace, security, and sustainable development in our region as well as the Peace and Security Mechanisms of the African Union, and see how they can be addressed in the most practicable and effective ways.

African current security dynamics and challenges are an amalgam of issues such as: terrorism and transnational organised crime, cycles of ethnic groups clashes, religious radicalization, human and drug trafficking, piracy and arms proliferation, as well as Money laundering.

The natural phenomena and disasters, food insecurity, refugees and internally displaced persons, and extremely severe diseases like Ebola virus (EBOV), are also some of the most current challenging situations facing Africa.

In that context, I'd like to make two main points.

First, the general overview of the situation in Africa.

Second, I will discuss the International Holistic approaches and African initiatives in the Sahel region, CAR, and South Sudan: "How the International community is helping and What African nations should do for themselves? ".

**I. General overview of the situation in the region**

On March 6, 2014, the commander of U.S. Africa Command Army Gen. David M. Rodriguez described challenges facing the United States and Europe across Africa, from the Sahel region in West Africa to Somalia in the east.

He told the Senate Armed Services Committee in prepared testimony, that terrorist groups in North and West Africa have expanded their operations, increasing threats to the United States and its interests, and using the region as a base to extend their reach across northwest Africa (1).

Today, West Africa has the unenviable reputation of being one of the most volatile regions in Africa. The situation in Nigeria and Mali remains problematical, and highly complicated by a combination of perceived State weakness and the presence of myriad terrorist groups, which pose a huge threat of instability and destabilization to Mauritania, Niger, Chad, Cameroon, Sudan, and even the Central African Republic (2).

*Nigeria*

In Nigeria, despite the state of emergency decreed by the government in May last year, Boko Haram is still carrying out its indiscriminate and deadly campaign against civilian and government facilities and has extended its reach into neighboring Niger, Chad and Cameroon.

More than 700 people have died in the restive northeast, while tens of thousands more have fled for their lives, either in fear of further attacks or after militants razed their homes and businesses.

A wave of strikes, including the slaughter of boarding school students in their beds while they slept, has prompted international condemnation and raised questions about the military's response (3).

For a long time, Nigeria viewed Boko Haram as a domestic problem and insisted that a domestic approach is needed to resolve. Now, Nigeria's call for help from France and other regional and international actors can be seen as an acknowledgement of the limitations of national efforts in combating terrorism as a global threat.

In the meantime, ethnic and Sectarian clashes is another threat facing Nigeria, where, Gunmen have killed at least 100 people, on March 16, in attacks on three villages in central Nigeria, an area where long-standing disputes over land, religion and ethnicity had killed 3,000 people since 2010 (4)

*Mali*

In Mali, a year after the French military Operation Serval to clear northern Mali of jihadists, the al Qaeda-linked militants operating in the Sahel region seem to be back.

Pockets of fighters still operate from desert and mountain bases.

There is also growing concern at the repeated attacks by suicide bombers or with mines and small arms on French, Chadian and Malian forces despite the presence of 6,000 troops from the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Mali (Minusma) on the ground.

Over the past six months al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) has murdered several people who helped the French military in Mali, in particular Tuareg members of the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MNLA).

Pierre Boilley, a specialist on the Sahel, thinks the jihadists "have just changed their organization". "The biggest source of concern," he adds, "is the political deadlock in negotiations between the

government in Bamako and movements in northern Mali, which facilitates the jihadists' return. Time is on their side, too" (5).

Many fear the political peace process has lost momentum.

With ethnic tensions running high, armed groups are conducting feuds in the lawless north with little fear of facing justice.

Residents of northern Mali also face a severe humanitarian crisis and absence of essential infrastructure and services.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The prevailing security challenges in Africa bring East Africa region also into similar reckoning.

It needs to be recognized that ethnic and sectarian conflicts, and armed conflicts are gaining ground; also that there is a resurgence of new radical outfits; and, in turn, religious extremism is aggravating existing turmoils.

*Central African Republic*

In Central African Republic, there have been dramatic changes in the situation on the ground, as the inter-communal hatred remains at a terrifying level, as evidenced by the extraordinarily vicious nature of the killings. This has become a country where people are not just killed, they are tortured, mutilated, burned and dismembered.

Some 8,000 foreign troops are working to disarm Central African rebel groups after a year of inter-religious violence.

At this time, ethnic and religious demography of the CAR has changed radically, and around a quarter of the country's 4.6 million people displaced.

*South Sudan*

Warring parties in South Sudan failed to resume planned peace talks with fighting continuing on the ground, despite threats of possible sanctions if they fail to progress.

The ceasefire deal has failed to halt fighting on the ground, with both sides accusing each other of violating the terms of the agreement (6).

Yesterday, South Sudanese rebels of the SPLM/A said their forces have advanced on Jonglei state's Duk county after repulsing government troops and their foreign allies who had attacked their defense positions on last Monday in the Greater Bor area.

In Juba, the South Sudanese army confirmed the capture of the area by the rebels.

*Somalia*

In Somalia, African Union and Somali troops moved deeper into land controlled by al-Qaida-linked militants, last week, forcing fighters to flee from five towns in quick succession in a further squeezing of al-Shabaab's strongholds.

The current operations represent the most significant progress regional forces have made against the militants since 2012.

Security sources report some Shebab members are fleeing to mountains in northern Somalia's Puntland region, but some foreign fighters may seek to cross to Yemen, or flee southwards into neighboring Ethiopia and Kenya (8).

But military success does not come without challenges. In fact, despite losing territory to AMISOM in recent years, the militant group has continued to launch suicide attacks against government and international targets, including an assault on the presidential palace in Mogadishu last month that killed at least 17 people.

And, "What we have realized before, is that some area was liberated from al-Shabaab but there was not a political strategy in place. And what happened, there was a power vacuum, but also clan in-fighting." Mahamed Muse Tarey, Executive director of the Somali Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies, stated.

*North Africa*

Finally, in North Africa, although the situation in Tunisia appears to be better, it too carries the potential for a future filled with uncertainties. Islamist militant violence is one of the main challenges for the new caretaker government.

Libya called on the United Nations and international community to help fight what it called a war on terrorism. But, the weak central government did not say what kind of help it expected.

In Darfur, the international community is deeply concerned by the sharp escalation in violence and insecurity in Darfur which, so far this year, have displaced an estimated 215,000 civilians.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Terrorism has mutated into global franchise, as also the existence of close coordination in operational matters among terrorist affiliates groups such as AQIM, Ansar Dine, the Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa, or MUJAO, Boko Haram, Ansaru, Al Shabaab, terrorist threat has become very real.

The fight against them demands more than national responses (9).

The reality is that with the immanent withdrawal of coalition combat troops from Afghanistan, there is the possibility of Africa as a continent becoming the new front in the Global War on Terror (*Mben et al.,* 2013).

The reality is that all the signs are there that a new geopolitical map of terrorism is taking shape in the absence of any prevention strategies.

The reality is that crisis unfolding in Africa are now almost always regional wars, not national ones.

**II. International security Holistic approaches and African initiatives in the Sahel region, CAR, and South Sudan.**

*A). How the International is helping?*

Addressing the sophisticated challenges posed by the complex phenomena of terrorism, religious extremism, Sectarian conflicts, national reconciliation and development is matter will require a longer term sustainable intervention, and comprehensive and coordinated regional and international strategies.

Given these various overlapping and interweaving challenges, International and regional approaches must entail both immediate actions and a long term approach to deal with the root causes of African security threats.

*Sahel region*

In the Sahel region, the African Union has developed a draft AU Strategy for the Sahel region, together with a Plan of Action, which is submitted to this meeting for consideration.

It should also be pointed out that the United Nations had developed an Integrated Strategy for the Sahel, which encompasses, in a holistic approach, the security, the humanitarian dimension and development challenges in the region.

The European Union (EU) also has developed a Strategy to guide its action in the Sahel region; it is being adjusted and harmonized with other initiatives.

Similarly, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has made efforts in this area, and in the context of the overall objective to ensure greater coordination between all actors concerned.

On February 2014, the Marrakech Security Forum backed a collaborative plan to tackle the security threat. Participants noted that to fight effectively against the security threats and challenges in the region, it is important to adopt integrated, global and co-ordinated strategies involving all parties

Ellen Wasylina, the president of the Observatory of the Black, Gulf and Mediterranean Seas, was among those calling for the need for regional co-operation. "Its architecture should not be created in the north, even if the main targets are Western. All states in the Sahel must be involved," she said. "Dialogue with and between populations across the Sahel region must therefore be a consideration in taking action against terrorism, because terrorists have infiltrated them," Wasylina added (10).

In CAR, the current deployment of international security forces is not sufficient, and lacks the civilian component to adequately protect civilians under imminent threat or tackle the root causes of the conflict.

The EU had promised to send as many as 1,000 soldiers. Today, however, it seems that the European Union peacekeeping mission in Central African Republic can't start as scheduled because some countries haven't provided the troops and resources they promised.

In that context, France said on Friday, March 14, the European Union was shirking its responsibilities for international security.

Meanwhile, the leader of the South Sudan rebels, Riek Machar, has strongly rejected the proposed deployments of regional forces by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and warned to boycott the ongoing peace talks in Addis Ababa, unless the decision was reversed.

Machar condemned the proposed deployments of such forces, warning that it will widen and regionalize the current violent conflict which began as an 'internal misunderstanding' in the ruling Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM).

The former vice president said the decision questioned the neutrality of the IGAD member states in the conflict, as he believes that those who mediate cannot be part of any force deployments.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The AU, alongside other members of the international community, supports the regional efforts aimed at address the current challenges facing the region, in the Sahel region, CAR, and South Sudan, and Mali.

Of course, efforts have been done by AU and the International community. But much more must be realized.

There is a real need for continued vigilance and determined efforts to deepen regional security cooperation on the basis of a unified vision of collective security, transparency and shared responsibility

There is a real need for a working synergy to be established between national, regional and extra-regional actors and initiatives.

There is a real need for an efficient coordination of efforts and the different initiatives for the Sahel as stressed at the high level seminar organized by the European Union in Brussels on 6 February 2014

There is a real need for greater synergy between the various components of the African Standby Force (ASF), covering the North, West and Central Africa, particularly through closer cooperation in intelligence sharing, training, equipment and the necessary operational capacity building (11).

Far more importantly, there is a real need for the AU's Peace and Security early warning to be effective, and followed by early response – an area which Africans need to improve on.

*B). What African nations should do for themselves?*

While the commander of U.S. Africa Command Army Gen. David M. Rodriguez said Africom is using military-to-military engagements, programs, exercises and other operations to respond to crises and deter threats in Africa, he emphasized that these efforts are geared toward enabling African partners to handle these problems.

"We believe efforts to meet security challenges in Africa are best led and conducted by African partners," he said, efforts that ultimately will depend on African nations developing effective partner-nation security institutions that respect civilian authority.

On the National level, African governments must take their responsibilities to strengthen capacities, to break the cycle of recurring political and security crisis, and contribute to establishing the conditions for long-term stability, and social and economic development.

More needs to be done.

1). Addressing the crisis in the CAR requires a unified and integrated approach, through the deployment of a multidimensional peacekeeping operation, with the protection of civilians as its utmost priority. There is a need for a political commitment from national stakeholders, as well as a commitment from the international community to work together and to provide the necessary assistance to the CAR to ensure the effectiveness and sustainability of its actions.

2). In South Sudan, a successful deal will need to reflect more than just the military realities in Jonglei, Unity and Upper Nile – the states where most of the fighting has taken place. It needs to involve South Sudanese civil society in the talks.

3). In Mali, a deal was reached to confine rebel fighters to barracks at preparatory talks in Bamako last month - which started three months late - but with no-one to enforce it, it may fall simply by the wayside. Restoring stability to north Mali is a crucial step in stamping out al Qaeda cells and traffickers operating in the arid Sahel belt south of the Sahara.

   "If northern Mali is missing, the Sahel puzzle won't be completed," said Jean-Baptiste Bouzard, Africa analyst at risk consultancy Maplecroft.

   In fact, achieving a peace deal with Tuareg rebels is key to restoring security but negotiations have stalled. But, a lack of cohesion within the array of separatist groups and the plethora of mediators is complicating talks.

   In that context, I would like to appreciate the full readiness of Morocco and Algeria to support Mali in its efforts to consolidate security and stability, to promote an inclusive national dialogue, in all transparency, loyalty, efficiency, accountability and ownership by the Malians of this process.

4). In Nigeria, security analysts have long argued that the government needed to tackle the root causes of the problem, rather than only fighting fire with fire. Finally, Last week, Nigeria unveiled a new National Counter-Terrorism Strategy to tackling the Boko Haram insurgency that touched not only on past mistakes but also indicated a "soft power" plan including "de-

radicalization" programs for suspected and convicted Boko Haram fighters as well as closer co-operation with communities most affected by the deadly violence. Central to this would be an "economic revitalization program" in the six northern states most hit by extremist violence, involving state and federal agencies.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Michael D. Lumpkin, assistant secretary of defense for special operations and low-intensity conflict testified at a hearing of the House Armed Services Committee's emerging threats and capabilities subcommittee, on March 14, 2014.

According to Michael D. Lumpkin: "with security threats evolving with terrorist organizations expanding in Syria, North Africa and the Sahel, the United States must maintain pressure on such organizations to protect the nation".

Having noted that, it is of paramount importance to address the fundamental causes of terrorism and other security challenges such as Democratic governance, marginalized peoples, socio-economic and political disparities.

If these deep-seated issues are not dealt with they will continue to be a breeding ground for the manifestations and the spread of terrorism, ethnic groups clashes, and religious extremism in Africa.

Thank you.

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**Ambassador Maowia Khalid**
Chief of Mission, Embassy of the Republic of the Sudan


Thank you so much Professor Yonah and Professor Wallace for allowing me the opportunity to speak today about the current security challenges in Africa. I am indeed privileged and honored to do so alongside my colleagues who are the experts in this issue. I would also like to thank all of you for taking the time to be with us this afternoon as we address this critical subject.

Africa has through the years, attracted a lot of attention in Washington and from different U.S. administrations. Just recently, President Barack Obama launched an initiative calling for a summit of leaders of the U.S. and Africa to convene this coming August in Washington D.C. We appreciate and commend this initiative and even though my country has not been invited to the summit, we look at it as being a very important event and are fully confident that those who participate will speak on behalf of all their fellow Africans including those who like Sudan, are not invited.

Since my mentor? Ambassador Keita, has covered the issue of security challenges facing Africa in a comprehensive manner, I just want to touch upon some basic facts in this regard. The deterioration in the security conditions in Africa today is evidenced by the numerous conflicts that have galvanized the continent. But the reality is that most of these disastrous conflicts in the continent are a direct result of certain conflicting demands and motives, which are more prevalent in Africa than in any other place. We can cite as an example, the dispute over land ownership as being one of the most important sources of conflicts in Africa. In many African countries the tribal and communal conflicts or may I say wars, which have erupted because of conflicting claims over limited land and water resources have resulted in massive numbers of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs). As you all know, my country has suffered a lot from such tragic events especially in the region of Darfur where the disputes between nomadic herders and sedentary farmers over land ownership and land-use-rights do constitute the major cause for the conflict.

Sudan, its neighbors and other countries in the region also suffered from the tragic consequences. The refugees and IDPs themselves became a security challenge due to the demand they had created for essential needs such as shelter, water, food, sanitation, and other service as well as for security and safety. Unfortunately, the camps for refugees in neighboring countries and for IDPs in Sudan became safe havens for criminals who were involved in arms selling, human trafficking, child soldier recruitment, drug trafficking, banditry, and other serious crimes. This is definitely adding a new element of security challenge in Africa.

Eethnicity and religion have been at the heart of much of the recent conflicts in Africa and as such they represent a   grave challenge to the security of the continent. The recent crisis in the Central African Republic is a case in point. The fighting there reflects very negatively on Africa and exacerbates the overall security situation. The region of Darfur for one is being further burdened by the influx of refugees from that neighboring country.
Border disputes are also part of the security challenge. Some of the significant examples include the two border disputes between Ethiopia and Eritrea and between Sudan and the new country of

South Sudan. In the case of the latter, the issue of border demarcation is not yet settled but we are going through a different type of negotiations to resolve this issue. I would like here really to commend the essential role of our partners, the countries members of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), especially Kenya, who hosted one of the longest and very complicated negotiations in the recent history, which ended in a comprehensive peace agreement. The agreement as you all know, led to the secession of South Sudan as an independent country. However, a few small issues such the border disagreement between the two countries remained unresolved. So, border disputes are indeed a type of security challenge in Africa.

The rise of armed insurgent or rebel groups is one of the most significant components of the security challenges facing Africa today. Yes, there are some legitimate and acceptable kinds of demands from different groups in Africa today but taking up arms against governments as a means of realizing these demands, is not acceptable. Yet, at the end of the day, these demands must be addressed peacefully. We can say confidently that wars do not resolve problems. Only agreements that are reached peacefully at the negotiation table, such as the comprehensive peace agreement between Sudan and South Sudan, can lead to some kind of good conclusions.

We are still suffering greatly from those rebel groups who are attacking villages, towns and cities nearly every day and causing more casualties among civilians.  But governments have a responsibility to protect their civilian population and the territorial integrity of the country. Unfortunately, civilian casualties always come as a result of attacks and counter attacks and through such kinds of terrorism activities.

Terrorist and other militant groups in Africa such as the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), al-Shabaab, Boko Haram, and anti-Balaka in the Central African Republic represent a very big challenge right now to our safety and our security. Sudan is cooperating with the regional efforts to combat those groups and we have designated all of them as terrorist organizations.

We are also being negatively impacted right now, by the situations that have transpired in the wake of so called "Arab Spring" in Tunisia, Libya and Egypt. Fortunately, Tunisia is following a good path of national dialogue, which makes the democratic process a little bit more successful. However, Libya and Egypt are still suffering a lot from the negative ramifications of the Arab Spring. In my country Sudan, there are still some problems regarding the different political forces in the country; some of them armed groups, some peaceful civilian opposition parties. My government has recently launched a new initiative of national dialogue to address the issues of concern and the demands, which are raised by different political parties and ethnic groups in the country so we may all come to a conclusion of dealing with our issues peacefully. We undoubtedly, need regional and international support to help make these kinds of initiatives and peaceful mechanisms work.

Generally, in order to address the root causes of these security challenges in Africa, I could say very briefly that development is the most effective measure for dealing with these threats. That is because a viable and sustainable nation-state will only come about through development. Here too, the U.S. can play a significant role in eliminating the dependency syndrome through trade enhancement rather than continuing to provide aid to African countries. Some studies show that

terrorist networks are more successful recruiting in poor areas and the poorest of the youth rather than among those who enjoy a little bit of good life.

Another effective measure for dealing with the causes of the security challenges is cooperation on different areas and levels among the African countries themselves and between them and the U.S. in order to combat terrorism. Without cooperation, terrorists and armed rebels will continue to threaten our lives.

Regional and sub-regional organizations also need to be energized and empowered to be able to address this issue. They need to be able to fulfill their duties of maintaining peace and security in Africa more effectively. We can also draw valuable lessons from the experience of IGAD in Sudan and South Sudan. In fact, IGAD right now is engaged in the same process of trying to resolve a most unfortunate situation, which is the internal conflict in South Sudan. Also, the African Union (AU) through the chairmanship of President Mbeki has been working diligently to try to broker a peace agreement between the Republic of the Sudan and the Sudan Liberation Movement North (SPLM/N) who has affiliation with the Government of South Sudan.

Creating political stability is also essential for combating the root-causes of the security challenges facing Africa today and it can only occur through the promotion of democracy, human rights, good governance, transparency, accountability, and the rule of law.

Readdressing the notion and objective of the sanction regime is also very crucial in this effort. The calls to build leverage that could be used timely and effectively is in my opinion, something that can come through engagement. Right now we see that sanctions are hurting ordinary peoples more than the ruling parties. Just imagine that at this time in the 21$^{st}$ century people are dying from not getting antibiotics because of sanctions and that because of sanctions, so many young people do not know what even credit cards mean. Those same people today cannot look at America as the land of opportunities or the land of dreams. Instead, they will look at America as the power of suppression and aggression. I think they would be emotionally more vulnerable to manipulation by terrorist networks. Therefore, I think this is something that should be readdressed.

This can give another dimension of combating terrorism and other criminal networks because, as you rightly just said it Professor, after 9/11 and despite some differences in the past between Sudan and the U.S., Sudan began a huge cooperation program with United States in the area counterterrorism. In return, we got nothing from that cooperation. I am not the one who can tell you but I think, most of you, especially those who are affiliated with security agencies, can understand very well what the significance of that cooperation is. In addition, al-Qa'ida was expelled from Sudan in 1996, and has since never returned. However, we still suffer from small pockets of militant youth groups who may be affiliated with jihadists in the area and we are taking the responsibility of fighting them. However, this also needs some sort of cooperation between Sudan and the U.S. Some politicians may ask, "why do we continue cooperating with the U.S. on security issues and fighting terrorism while this cooperation is not reflected in the political and bilateral relations between the two countries?" I just want to say here that the top leadership in Sudan, the presidency and the foreign affairs, really understand the essentiality of

this cooperation and that this is something that should be continued and not be jeopardized by any kind of interference from the political side.

I want to mention another issue of importance to us and it has to do with U.S. capacity building training programs. When you leave some countries out somebody else may take them in. In the case of Sudan, we will be forced to depend on ourselves. But with limited knowledge and know-how and with very small capacity, Sudan's possibilities to be an active partner in counterterrorism will shrink. So, building capacity, sharing intelligence information and cooperation can enhance the ability and capabilities of Sudan and some other countries to combat those same threats, which we are discussing right now. I just wanted to link the capacity building issue with the notion of cooperation. I do not want to take much of your time, I can just leave it here and I'll be more than glad to share more in the discussion if there are any questions. Thank you.

**Professor Christos Kyrou**
Research Director, Center for International Relations

I would like to thank you and your staff here, Professor Yonah; Professor Wallace thanks for having me here. Your Excellencies: Ambassador Keita, Ambassador Khalid, Ambassador Kamau; our audience, thank you for your patience and I thank you in advance for your participation in the Q & A session that's always coming and is a very rich and informative session here at the Potomac institute.

I would like to just look at this from the perspective of a conflict analyst, a conflict scholar. One thing that we see here on this map is a layer of tension that without it Africa already had its own challenges, like every other region – Latin America, South East Asia, and so on. But what we have increasingly lately is this constant tension and constant pressure coming from this additional role of terrorist networks that have landed literally on Africa and they do act in spite of Africans themselves.  Now the reason I am saying this is because, in my opinion, al-Qa'ida, in regards to Mali in particular, has made one of its worst strategic blunders and I'll explain why. Ambassador Keita mentioned the Tuareg, which is a very large group, Berbers in origin, and they expand pretty much where this horn is. I will stand up just for that, (pointing) they cover northern Mali pretty much, part of Niger, Burkina Faso, then they expand into Algeria, and as far as Tunisia, so they cut right through the operational area of the al-Qa'ida in the Maghreb. So you have this population of people cutting through.  Now these are people who dress colorfully, love music, they are flamboyant, they are expressive, they love festivals, and they are also the gatekeepers of modern Islam. So culturally, to come into this area and impose strict sharia law – start chopping off hands, ban music, not to allow people to freely talk – not to mention that Mali in general is a culture where women play a dominant role both in the household and in the community and to pack them and send them home… So you understand this complex of imposition of restrictions in such culture was about to backfire anyway.  The Tuareg, the separatists, the very group that they collaborated with, turned against them (al-Qa'ida) and they fought three battles; two before the French intervention and one after the intervention.

What I'm trying to say here is, around Africa in regards to these particular networks, there are untapped immense resources to defeat terrorism, to defeat networks of terror, and as all the Ambassador have said, there are these underlying themes of grievances, of poverty, of illiteracy if you like, of lack of participation in the very basic economics.  What is a credit card? Are you a human being? Do you have an ID? All these things have to be addressed, and they had to be addressed before the terrorist networks but in the presence of these networks there is an urgency to be addressed faster.

Now, I would say this is a conflict system, that's "normal." but with the addition of the terrorist networks is a conflict on steroids sort of speak – it's constantly on edge.  So maybe there's an opportunity here for facing a common threat for all the nations of Africa and outside Africa to collaborate to face that challenge.  Ambassador Khalid talked about at least a very basic collaboration in regards to terrorist networks even when there is nation-to-nation friction in the region.  Ambassador Keita – that's I love about this man is that he embraces complexity and if anything else these are extremely complex conflicts.

(Pointing) There is an arrow right there from the Latin American cartels all the way to the Sahel that forks up to Spain, Italy, and then there is a third fork that goes towards Syria and then eastern Europe.  These are the narco-traffickers.  It's not just only narcotics but they are also human traffickers, they are also arms smugglers, those are also penetrating these systems of terrorist networks -- it's an additional stressor.   So collaboration and embracing complexity, looking at issues like refugees; there are 500,000 internally displaced people and refugees in Mali alone, some of them living in Mauritania in areas where - 50,000, if I'm not mistaken - in areas where there is no water.  The humanitarian organizations have no access to them and yet they are constantly harassed by propaganda and the presence of terrorist networks and rebels. Who are these people going to turn to eventually?  Add them up to those refugees in Kenya from Somalia, those in Niger from Mali, and so on, and you see how much broiled this region happens to be, with people ready to subscribe and do whatever they can to escape.  Given also other issues, like droughts - Mali had five years of drought and it still has it and that's a very big issue in the Niger River as a whole, not just Mali itself…

So can we tap on those resources? Then, can we de-conflict one issue from another? We have al-Shabaab, we face a new trend from Somalia to the gulf of Guinea, of piracy. For those following the piracy trends, the gulf of Guinea now has become much more dangerous for commercial shipping then the actual horn of Africa.  We have to shift our attention there because that would give yet another foothold for terrorist networks, if you like, through the gulf of Guinea in addition to the one they have already from the Maghreb to Niger to Nigeria.  And since we are talking about Nigeria, I think a group worth to mention is the Ansarus, a new group that in fact is focusing on Africa as a whole, not Nigeria only, so there is a new trend in networks, that are not anymore local but they start expanding with a larger agenda -- so sort of crusaders of Islam if you like, for black Africa.  The group was just added on the terrorist list of State Department.

How can we deconflict?   How can we separate the Tuareg's as nationalist and separatists, and deal with them that way?  When there are narcotraffickers and human traffickers and others present who are working with some of the Tuareg, and there are fundamentalists and Islamist Jihadist who are working through some other Tuaregs, or some of them who are also doing narcotrafficking.  How can we deal with each group separately? "De-confliction," right?  They are using it in air trafficking when the screen is full of airplanes you just have to turn it off and then turn it up again and keep working on each airplane that's closer to the ones that are further. We have to do that, we have to be able to deconflict, we have to be able to peel the layers of the conflict and see how we can deal with each one of them before we put them back together.

 The situation here is not desperate in my opinion. There some very interesting ideas available on the table, such as radicalization for example. Yes, there are processes that are being used in Yemen, in Saudi Arabia, in Singapore, in Egypt and others.  There is good literature on deradicalization. The problem with these programs is they are extremely costly. It's not enough to bring good imams or moderate imams… they are complicated because you have to take care of their families and you have to make sure the prison systems have been reformed.  That's huge for a lot of countries; that's a lot of millions and millions of dollars for the prison systems to be reformed. You have to follow up with what former terrorist are going to do after they are released.  If they have to be integrated into society with the risk that they might always go back.  These are costly programs and that's why Singapore and Saudi Arabia have provided the

most successful examples.   So it is a complex system.  There is a light at the end of the tunnel but I think there has to be lots of cash thrown in the system which of course brings the other issue, of corruption in the region.

Institutions against corruption have to be strengthened. It's a huge concern for Economic Community Of West African States (ECOWAS) and the European Union, and of course of ours -- where is the money going to go?   Is there going to be businesses as usual - money down the drain - or is it going to actually end in the right places?  Maybe decentralization could be an answer, with the combination of consociational governments, like the ones in Northern Ireland or Bosnia and Herzegovina, or others that what they do is they preserve the rights of minorities while at the same time they avoid local dictatorships of majority groups. For example, say that northern Mali now is an issue. Some Tuaregs in northern Mali along with some Arab Malians aspire to some degree of autonomy.  They've given up independence which historically, it's proven too dangerous. They're going to lose it all to the jihadists and they know it.  So what's left for them is the option of some degree of autonomy. Bamako is very concerned they are going to lose the North because why would they negotiate something that is sovereign to them, right?  There are answers to that challenge, there are different approaches available; for example they could work on having a decentralized – local – government, power sharing – not power giving – parliamentary arrangements, with specific seats for each ethnic group, so that no one becomes more dominant over the others. Now by doing so, whatever money comes, from Bamako or from outside, for development in the north, will be seen; it will be visible.  All I'm trying to say here is that there are ways to resolve every one of these problems; there are ways.

There has to be collaboration, cooperation, embracing complexity.  We live in the 21st century. We landed on the moon earlier with a five megabytes computer. Now our cellphones have processing capacities of terabytes.  We can deal with this type of complexity, but we have to collaborate; scholars, analysts; civic-military relations have to strengthen; all has to be put into context; culture has to be recognized and put into context.  In Mali, Sudan, Kenya… there are very strong tribal methods and traditions for conflict resolution at every level -- at community level, family level, neighborhood level.  The tree in Sudan, if I'm not mistaken, where the people gather together, or every village in Mali has a sheikh who's willing to listen to the problems his community has.  If you look at these countries, as we all know, they look like kaleidoscopes of culture and languages and so on, and of course there's conflict.  But at the same time they come with this huge, huge toolkit of dealing with these conflicts over time.  Can we tap into this toolkit? Can we even learn from that toolkit of how we can be effective with our own problems?

So that's my response. I don't want to take your time more.  Thank you.

# Academic Centers

## Inter-University Center for Terrorism Studies (IUCTS)

Established in 1994, the activities of IUCTS are guided by an International Research Council that offers recommendations for study on different aspects of terrorism, both conventional and unconventional. IUCTS is cooperating academically with universities and think tanks in over 40 countries, as well as with governmental, intergovernmental, and nongovernmental bodies.

## International Center for Terrorism Studies (ICTS)

Established in 1998 by the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, in Arlington, VA, ICTS administers IUCTS activities and sponsors an internship program in terrorism studies.

## Inter-University Center for Legal Studies (IUCLS)

Established in 1999 and located at the International Law Institute in Washington, D.C., IUCLS conducts seminars and research on legal aspects of terrorism and administers training for law students.

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